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## BOSTON UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL Thesis

# VISUALIZING TENSIONS IN FAMILY DISORGANIZATION (An Introduction to its Use in Family Welfare Agencies)

Submitted By

Joseph Parker Tufts.

(A.B., Baker University, 1923.)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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#### I. INTRODUCTION.

The principal reason for the existence of this paper is to present a method of utilizing some of the existing social agencies for a more thorough study of disorganization processes that are evident in the marriage relationship.

For obvious reasons it here seems necessary to give only a brief glimpse of the history of marriage. It is a lengthy study and one that has been handled adequately by many well informed scholars among thom we may name, Robert Briffault, E. Westermark, W. G. Sumner and Count Keyserling.

To glance briefly at the history of institutions we find them to be a product of man's growth and development and his attempt to make better adjustments to his environment. From W.G.Sumner's Folkways we learn that early indications of institutional life are found among very simple beliefs of individuals composing the early social groups, grew the mores, or unwritten but never-the-less, extrmely binding regulations recogniz -ed by all as extremely important in performing the fundamental purpose of life, self-maintenance. Law became a natural outgrowth especially when property entered as an integral factor in maintaining the individual. In his group.

The marriage institution is undoubtedly a regulation for the sex impulse. Coupled with this we find the self-maintenance impulse or the economic factor in life playing an important part. There is here no single central factor

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interests now alternate and again unite in forming the nucleus of various succeeding topics. What we have in self-perpetuation is a very special type of self-maintenance characterized by the bi-sexuality of the cooperators. There appears in it a series of relationships in which now the economic and again the pure by sexual seem to set the tone. "1. The reason for all this is distinctly clear. We are thoroughly aware of the fact that long before marriage became an institution, men and women maintained themselves and the race in whatever manner possible. Nature's primary reason and purpose has been to pass on the germ plasm as well as to keep alive the organism. Our very existance testifies to this purpose.

As better chances of food getting and greater survival of off springs came to be identified with the groups, there also arose the conflicts of individuals over rights and duties. "Through the earlier stretches of societal evolution as it appears to us, the compound unit of man-plus-

<sup>1.</sup> Summer and Keller, The Science of Society, vol., lii p.1517

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woman, since it includes constituents complementary one to the other, formed a combination of high survivalvalue. For those who might remain outside of it there was small chance in the whole field of self-maintenance except in a parasitic capacity.. ..... Natures stress urges the human animal to mate. Society has set its approval upon certain ways of mating which, with their accessories of ritual. come to form the institution of marriage. Within this institution, in its local form, all are expected to live as they must live in the local industrial, governmental, or religious organization." From this we can readily see that the making of marriage was not primarily sex affection not paternal love. "Not for nothing, however does the emotional and impatient savage in marrying give up freedom and take on duties; the mores that stress him to do that, however little he deliberates over his action, have large expediency and compelling reason behind them. For man the interest subserved by marriage is personal and direct where for woman it is more complex and also indirect, by way of the child. If man's interest were not served under marriage, he would and could keep out of it; there is nothing else to hold him; he is under no such

Sumner and Keller, op. cit. p. 1544. vol iii.

of marriage, Within this spatished in its local -abute sucitive to . industrial . I distribut land and ication." From tale we can readily say that the

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special sex-coercion as is woman. It is in the conditions of the struggle for existence and maintenance that we must look to discover his compulsion."

Sex cooperation and marriage for primarily selfish reasons imply that the sexes were capable of specialized work of a mutually valuable nature. Since in cooperation there were greater chances of preservation for both, ways and means to form some types of better adjustment began to accumulate. "The antagonistic cooperation of the sexes was inevitable and constituted the beginning of industrial and societal organization."2 Our conclusions for such ideas come only from analysis and inference. Such beginnings as these were of the mores and the actual facts are lost in mystery. We can chart the course of the stream of history, tracing to its utmost point for which we have evidence of its course. Then we reach out in the darkness in line with the last points of direction and estimate the orgin of the institutions of society, the beginnings of which we can never hope to see. We do have for study many primitive societies that point to this direction in the formation of the first institutions of marriage. We have here a starting point in giving us a basis for what suggestions willifollow in the

l. Sumner and Keller, op. cit. p. 1515.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid. p. 1516.

Sumner, W. G. Folkways, pp.7-8.

special con-constains at a woman, it is in the non-divisions of the struggle for existence and maintenance that the second sound of the second sound s

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<sup>1.</sup> Summer and aplier, op. oit. p. 1515.

<sup>.</sup> No. 2. 1816.

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next few pages.

Briffault has shown conclusively that among many primitive tribes it is difficult to distinguish between marriage and other sexual relations. "Since sexual relations within the prescribed limits of marriage-classes are much more free before than after marriage, it is manifest that the primary purpose of the institution can not have been the satisfaction of those impulses. Of the Angami Nagas it is stated the 'chastity begins with marriage'1. and among the tribes of Upper Burma 'it is claimed that unchastity after marriage dees not exist owing to the freedom of experiment before marriage. 12. Those remarks apply to the majority of uncultured peoples. As Dr. Starcke observes, 'if marriage were decided by sexual relations, it would be difficult to understand for what reasons marriages were contracted in those communities in which altogether licentious life is permitted to the unmarried. 3,4. Among the tribes of North American Indians we find descriptions of widely varying degrees concerning the same relations. "It was the custom with all the triber for a man, when he went out on a prolonged hunting expedition to arrange for a young woman to accompany him, both for

3. C.N. Starcke, "The Primitive Family in its Origin and Development". P. 256.

4. Robert Briffault, "The Mothers", vol.ii, p.69.

<sup>1.</sup>D. Prain, "The Angami Nagas," Revue Coloniale Internationale, vol. p.492.

2.C. Morgan Webb, in Census of India 1911, vol.ix. p. 148.

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<sup>1.</sup> J. Proin, "The Anguar Sague, " sevue Coloniale Inter-

<sup>.</sup>O.E. . The constant of Tent 1911, vol. 17, ... 140, ...

development, p. 226.

the sake of sexual companionship, and also to assist him with the carrying, cooking, and preparation of the products of the hunt, work which belonged to the sphere of the women. The women received of course a liberal share of the profits, and the whole transaction was on a business footing of mutual advantage. At the end of the expedition the temporary association terminated without obligation on either side. Similarily, young men, who had no female relatives free to look after them, would engage some young woman to perform the duties of wife." It was found that among the Hurons, that many of the young men kept "des filles a pot et a feu." continuing thus to live together and freely visiting other lovers with -out hindrance, for such was the custom. 2. There appears to be no very strong ties between married couples of these Indian tribes and due to frequently changing wives family connections are commonly very extensive. 3. The Cherokee Iroquois "commonly change wives three or four times a year. "4.

It is unnecessary to go further to show that the force of hunger and economic need brought about varying types of adjustment. The same reason for the marriage relationship was also against it. "In general, primitive people hold together in

<sup>1.</sup> Briffault "The Mother" op.cit., vol.ii, p.75-76. quot. N. Perrot. 2.F.G. Sagard Theodat, Briffault, ibid.

<sup>3.</sup>G.H.Loskeil, "History of the Missions of United Brethern" vol.i, p. 52, ff.

<sup>4&</sup>quot;Memoirs of Lieutenant Timberlake" Briffault, ibia.

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marriage while their interests are served by it, and when they are not being served, they part without much difficulty.". As society advanced and property issues became involved in the relationship, there appeared codes and interests that regulated. rights and duties of each party. And as interests accumulated around the union the more the codes placed a permanent status on the marriage and held the parties involved, the more difficult became separation. It appears to follow, that, "the dissolution of wedlock through divorce appears to grow more difficult as the societal organization develops.".2.

have existed in the past, carrying on the fundamental functions we now associate with the family, we may say that they have an almost inconceivable range of differentiation. This unit of society has existed in certain cases where its meaning and responsibility amounted to as much as its length of life of a few moments. On the other hand we have known it to be a life long relationship where the whole of life's meaning centered and grew. The desire in many instances to dissolve the partnership has been the result of maladjustment and the hope for a better

<sup>1.</sup> Sumner and Keller, op.cit., vol.iii, p.1833.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., p.1839.

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le denne and staller, soldier, vol. 111; n. 1222.

and happier existence. Whenever moral codes thwarted this desire, there resulted a choice of receiving social condemnation or remaining in the disagreeable and unsatisfying relationship. What is thought to be the better adjustment is chosen in each case and many times we observe what looks to be the worst possible attempt to solve the problem.

In concluding this introduction our attention should be called to the "socializing forces" two of which we have discussed above. Self-maintenance and self-perpetuation, hunger and sex love, are shared together by both human and animal life. "Besides these, there are two others, which are specifically human, and which demand the existence of a society as an arena for their exibition, namely, vanity and ghost fear."

"Hunger, love, vanity and fear have operated with great power on all peoples. We can call them the socializing forces because, being the stimuli that drove men into society and held them there, they may be said to have socialized mankind. But for the action of these forces there could have been no society at all. However, this istnot to say that they have made solely for peace and association; they are also the war forces, and as such, at any rate in immediate result, they have been dissocializing in

<sup>1</sup> Sumner and Keller, op. cit. p. 21. vol i. 2 ibid.

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their effect. They are what forced men to action of some kind --- action that has often been, and at the outset usually was, predatory: war for plunder, over women, for glory, for some religious end. It is not unheard of that the same forces should produce results diametrically opposed; the fall of the stone and the ascent of the baldoon are alike due to gravitation." William I. Thomas has recently given us categatories for the human wishes or desires that correspond favorably with these socializing forces. The first twom the desire for security, and the desire for response, may be compared with those primary drives, hunger and love. Of the remaining desires, that of recognition is certainly based upon vanity: while the desire for new experience is perhaps a positive, for the negative force of ghost fear. The following discussion of tensions as they arise and appear in the organization of the family will be based largely around these forces which are so vital and exhaustive in considering the drives that motivate human life and association.

Sumner and Keller, op. cit. vol. i, p.21.
The Unadjusted Girl, pp. 4, ff..

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The Unadjusted Olyl, pp. 4, 4.

#### II. THE PROBLEM OF FAMILY DISORGANIZATION.

We have just reviewed some of the principal causes of family organization in primitive society. It is with extreme caution that we approach the matter of generalizations about so vast an territory covered by sex and marriage. Before selecting causes of disorganization in the family it will be well to keep in mind that the individual is the unit and when these units are arranged in certain ways, they become families. In our present society, each unit at some point in life has had connections with some organization of man-plus-woman and for our consideration here, we will take into account only the organization that has lived within the recognition of the local legal restrictions and endured for some length of time. When ever social workers try to encourage, any individual, there is the multiplicity of forces working for ar against their efforts. And it is important to notice that, "we can neither doctor people nor educate them, launch them into industry nor rescue them from long dependence and do these things in a truly social way without taking their families into account."1

<sup>1</sup> Richmond, Social Diagnosis, p. 134.

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The purpose of social work as we understand it is to help the individuals or groups of individuals to make better adjustments to their environments. Adjustmnets between husband and wife and children make up only a small portion of its work, but the knowledge of the family background is all important in every case. In primitive society there were, evidently, adjustments to be made and in the cases of men and women, separation seemed to be the easier way out. Primitives, however, allowed their emotions and whims to go unbridled but human beings today hold themselves in check and direct their energies into channels resulting in a higher type of civilization. (We are generalixing on the comparative average.) This means that there is need for a more delicate adjustment since there is a possibility for wider range of interest among individuals. However, let us keep in mind the four socializing forces or wished mentioned at the close of the last section, as we proceed to state our problem.

There appear to be as many differnt kinds of family disorganization as there are couples involved in the relationship. New experiments are constantly being recommended, such as the companionate

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marriage, free love and state care of children.

In some quarters education had been offered as a way out and we find prominent schools broadcasting the fact that girls are given the inside secrets of family problems in class rooms and laboratories.

Boys are taught how to be better fathers and handy men about the house. Witness a special effort that gained newspaper publicity recently.

"BRIDES CAN STOP DIVORCE BY BECOMMING HOUSEKEEPERS!"

"New York Woman Opens School to Teach Home Art."

It appears that as the family is about to disintegrate plans appear in numbers for its rehabilitation. Each exponent describes some unique experience that is bound to emancipate the world from the evils of divorce, desertion and general marital unhappiness.

"The establishment of the family is the process of building up organized attitudes in which all concur. Family disorganization represents the converse process in which the family complex breaks up and the ambitions and ideals of the individual members of the family become differentiated." We usually think of the family as being "started" when it is legally recognized by church and state, and likewise we think of its

<sup>1</sup> The Boston Travelor, March 22, 1928
2 Mowrer, Family Disorganization, P. 4.

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The Boston Travelor, March Mb, 1920

ending whenever a divorce decree is granted or

"death do us part." As a matter of fact, neither

the state nor the Church have anything directly

to do or say about building up organized attitudes,"

or breaking up the ideals, ambitions etc. of the

individual members. concerned. These facts are

accounted for and recorded by the state so that we

may, during the course of human history, pick

up our census records, and compile statistics

and prove conclusively that we are either becoming

more Norwegian or "going to the dogs."

The problem we are trying to diagnose is not recorded in the files of the various state departments. It is more subtle and more difficult to discover than the record of divorce or even the cause given in the decree. Our interest is in learning the root causes of the very process that brought about the need for divorce or desertion. It will now be necessary to define and distinguish between three terms before we proceed to the discussion of methods of studying our problem.

#### 1. Family Disintegration..

For the purposes of this paper, the disintegrated family is one which has lost all unity. It is a family

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recorded in the filles of the various state described.

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only in the sense of a "has been". When legal seperation has been granted, the family as we condider it, no longer exists and the records of its disunity become food for the statisticans' reports. Temporary removal or desettion of either the man or woman does not indicate a disintegrated family. Intermittent husbands or wives indicate disorganization processes but only when the seperation becomes final has disintegration taken place.

# 2. Family Disorganization.

Let us define disorganization as the <u>process</u> which destroys the unity of the family. The final culmination of the process resulting in total disunity, would be the disintegrated family, referred to above. We should keep in mind however that throughout the process of disorganization there is opportunity to avoid the final disintegration, developing instead, a counteracting organization process.

The following case is used to illustrate the process of disorganization.

John and Marie had difficulty in managing their finances. His salary of \$30.00 per week was slightly inadequate to cover all expenses. Since he was earning the money, he decided without consulting his wife, that he would take charge of the expenditure. Marie was given a small allowance and held accountable for every cent. This financial dictatorship brought about domination in other activities. John not only "allowed"

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Marie to spend a certain am of mongy but also allowed her to enjoy certain types of recreation approved by him. It was discovered that even their most intimate relations were wholly dominated by him. For five year Marie stood for all of this but a few months ago she finally revolted. She deserted her husband and the two children.

We discover in this case several tensions in the disorganization process. What do we mean by-3. Family Tensions?

In its sociological sense, a family tension is a conflict situation which breeds certain attitudes between persons in the family group. In the above case let us review the conditions bringing about what will probably end by "disintegration." First, an economic tension arose over inadequate funds. John took charge of the purse, being very inconsiderate of her desire for recognition and status as a good housewife, worthy of counsel. These two tensions brought on the dominence in other matters and might possibly have influenced his superior attitude in regard to their sex life. As each of these tensions broke down the underlying motives, common objectives and hopes that were the fundamental causes of the organization process that began only a few mears ago, family disorganization began to take place. Finally, tensions snapped and desertion seemed to be the only way out for the young wife. Some forces of social control must be exerted to bring back the old relationship and establish a common interest for the group or disintegration will result.

<sup>1</sup> Confidential story of a social case worker.

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## III. PROPOSED METHODS OF STUDYING FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

In the past, students of family disorganization have not always differentiated between the legal concepts of divorce and desertion and family disorganization. There usually has not been a distinction between the statistical study of divorce and the sociological implication of disorganization and tension. "Divorce for example, is one thing in Nevada, where the business men of Reno capitalize the lax divorce laws of the state; another thing in New York, where adultery is practically the only cause; and still quite a different thing in South Carolina, where it occurssonly by act of the legislature. Desertion, likewise, varies from place to place. If a man leaves his wife without support in a city where there is a charity organization to which she appeals for financial aid, that may be called 'desertion', though not in the legal sense. Butnif and husband fails to support his wife and there is a law that penalizes his failure to support her, that is 'non-support', or 'desertion'. If there is no charity organization nor any court enforced lawe against nonsupport, then there will be no desertion in that area,, just as there is no divorce in South Carolina."1

Recent studies of family incompatability reveal two methods of approaching the subject: (1) the statistical

Mowrer: The Study of Family Disorganization, The Family Magazine. Russell Sage Foundation. May 1927. p. 85.

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method and (2) the case study method. Let us first discuss the value of statistics in helping us to arrive at some vantage point in our problem.

1. The Statistical Method.

Caution must be the rule whenever we make a statistical study of family disintegration. This is especially true if we are making a study of divorce to prove that family disorganization is more prevalent in one section than in another. Matters which become public accord may be recorded or measured statistically but cultural differences, sexual incompatability and sometimes desertion are conditions usually concealed from the public. Divorce however received legal sanction and the stated cause goes into the record. We can therefore count the number, make comparisons and draw conclusions, but can we draw valid conclusions? We cannot. It has already been pointed out that different laws recognizing divorce and desertion in one state and not in another effect the number of divorces granted in those states. If we but examine the ecological factors in the disorganization process, we will discover other reasons why we cannot draw valid conclusions from statistical methods alone.

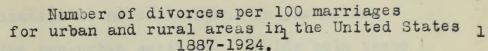
If we compare the differences between urban and rural divorce rates we find that as late as 1916 the rates were fairly even, but in 1924 while there

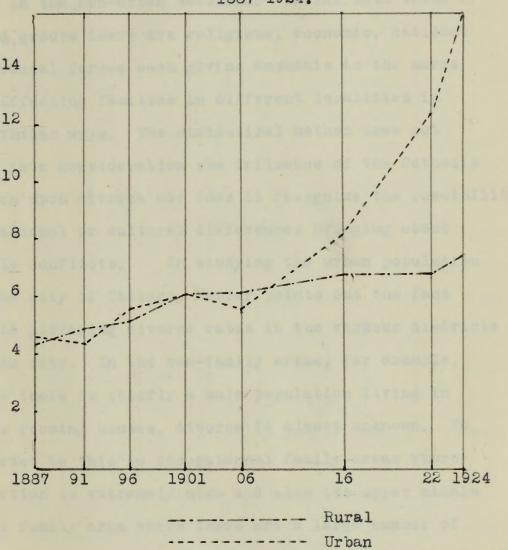
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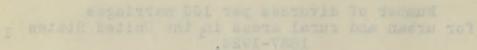
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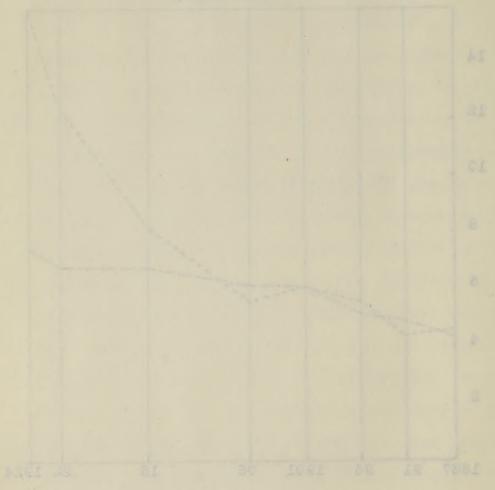




were less than eight divorces for every one hundred marriages in the rural sections of the United States, there were over fifteen divorces in the urban sections for every one hundred marriages. Note diagrame above.

<sup>1</sup> Mowrer, Family Disorganization. p 45.





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marriages in the rurel sections of the United States, see Interest States of the United States and States of the United States and States of the United Stat

Mowrey Temily Disorgunization, p.40.

It does not necessarily follow from this that family disorganization is more prevalent in the cities than in the non-urban sections. Inside both these broad groups there are religious, economic, national and racial forces each giving emphasis to the mores and affecting families in different localities in dissimilar ways. The statistical method does not take into consideration the influence of the Catholic Church upon divorce nor does it recognize the possibility of national or cultural differences bringing about family conflicts. In studying the urban population of the city of Chicago, Mowrer points out the fact of the differing divorce rates in the various districts of the city. In the non-family areas, for example, where there is chiefly a male population living in cheap rooming houses, divorce is almost unknown. contrast to this is the paternal family areas where desertion is extremely high and also the upper middle class family area where there are a large number of divorces. Again there are the suburban districts of the maternal family areas, composed of the upper bourgeoisie that also have a low rate of divorce.

Mowrer: Family Disorganization, Chapter v. p 110 1 The Author gives a very complete description of the conditions in this urban community. His diagram showing the relation of the emancipated family to the four mentioned above, makes us see vividly the constantly changing environment that is so difficult to consider in any form of study, not to mention the utter impossibility of accurately accounting for it statistically.

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Population, Number of Divorces and Divorce rates by Divisions, 1926.

			A STATE OF THE STA
Division	Total Estimated Population.	Divorces	Divorces per 1000 of the Population.
United States	117,136,000	180,853	1.54
New England Middle Atlantic Hast North Central West North Central South Atlantic East South Central West South Central Mountain Pacific	8,092,000 24,598,000 24,208,000 13,109,000 15,676,000 9,309,000 11,477,000 3,936,000 6,731,000	7,549 14,924 47,820 22,947 14,934 15,443 29,467 8,576 19,283	0.92 0.61 1.98 1.75 0.95 1.66 2.57 2.18 2.86

Page 20. Marriage and Divorce,
Department of Commerce, 1926.

The accompanying chart shows clearly the differences between the various sections of the country. We find the lowest rate of divorce to be recorded in the Middle Atlantic states composed of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, while Washington, Oregon and California have the highest. Can this possibly mean that our brothers in the Eastern states have come nearer to a solution of family disorganization that those in the West?

There is a very wide range of difference among some shown by of the individual states as/the table below, taken from the divorce statistics published by the Department of Commerce,

State	Population	Divorces	Divorces per 1000 Pop'n.	
Massachusetts	4,197,000	3,307	0.79	
New York	11,304,000	4,674	0.41	
District of Columbia	528,000	96	0:18	
Kansas	1,821,000	3,780	2.08	
Florida	1,317,000	4,012	3.05	
Oklahoma	2,342,000	7,398	3.16	
South Carolina	1,826,000			
Nevada	777,407	1,021	32.73	

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in 1926. To base any conclusions upon these reports, saying that happier marriages were made in the states of New York and Massachusetts than in Kansas, Oklahoma or Nevada would be a gross fallocy. It might be the very opposite in view of the fact that in these latter states, couples may more easily end an extremely bad situation without resorting to lies or unhawful conduct.

The statistical method assumed that we are all of the same general type, moulded after a national pattern and that our American civilization is, from Maine to California, a "sweet land of liberty."

method we cannot cast it entirely to the winds for it does have possibilities in helping our study of Family disorganization. It's chief contribution by the method of measuring the known facts is to discover three things: (1) the extent of disintegration, (2) The historical trend, and (3) the causal factors. The measurement of extent and trend involve simply the counting of events defined in the legal codes of states or municipalities. This of course is not absolutely accurate nor are legal terms defined sociologically We have here a direction at most. In its analysis of

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causal factors the statistical method is more helpless in contributing a fundamental explanation for family disorganization, but even here the fallacies lie in the application of the information and not so much in the limitations of the statistical method. 1

In this connection we find an interesting study in the correlation of divorce and unemployment by Dr. Maurice B. Hexter in his recent study of Social Consequences of the Business Cycles. He found in the records of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, a tendency toward a lower divorce rate during periods of unemployment which might lead one to believe that family disorganization was more prevalent during periods of prosperity. It would be unwise to conclude from this that tension attitudes in marriage were more prevalent during times of unemployment if for no other reason than the high cost of divorce. Perhaps if it were possible to gather accurate statistics of desertion, there would be found more of a correlation between desertion and unemployment than was found by Dr. Hexter in his study of desertion cases occurring among Jewish residents of New York City. Using as a correlative the fluctuation of unemployment in clothing and textiles in New York State, he found a

<sup>1</sup> Mowrer: Family Disorganization, pp. 127-9. pp. 97, 98, 113, 114.

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Facts properly gathered and statistically interpreted have immense value in studying any situation. In order to partially fill the need in studying marriage discords and tensions, a method of analysing cases and recording tension attitudes of case records of social agencies, will be suggested later. The advantages and disadvantages of the case study method must first be discussed before we consider analysis and treatment of the family.

2. The Case Study Method.

Whenever a physician discovers a case that is difficult to diagnose, he first takes all the available facts he can find to his laboratory for examination. After

making certain tests he compares his results with previous discoveries in the realm of the disease and after arriving at some conclusion, he proceeds to treat it properly and positively. This is precisely what the social scientist is attempting to do in the case study method of examining the family. Unlike the physician, the sociologist does not have the wealth of historical facts at his disposal. Not only is he exploring practically untilled ground but the ecological and emotional factors

<sup>1</sup> Hexter, op. cit. Foot Note, p. 161.

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in family relationships make the securing of correct information very difficult. "We ldok backward through the colored lights of emotion;" says Professor Groves, "our forward vision is distorted by our hopes, fears or wishes. The exact facts are hard to get. This does not mean that the interested person is trying to hide or change the facts, but rather that our family relationships, past present and even future in so far as imanined, are too shot through with personal meaning to be treated with unprejudiced judgment."

We are confronted from the beginning with difficulty in securing facts for our case histories. There are however, three sources from which we may gather this material. The first is from the records found in the courts of domestic relations. These records reveal factors causing family disintegration and have great value in compiling statistical data concerning studies of divorce. As mentioned above, we find here the difficulty of the formal and often incidental character contained in the records. The sociological reasons for divorce are very often interpreted in the terms provided by the legislature in making the decree of final seperation.

The files of social service agencies reveal an abundant amount of information and give very complete

<sup>1.</sup> Social Problems and the Family. P. 9.

Information to pursue and one manufactures that the formation of the common description descriptio

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stories of many types of incompatability. The case study method has been, very possibly, an outgrowth on the part of social workers to diagnose and treat instances of problem families. Criticism has been leveled against the inadequacy of these records in that there is a tendency to ignore other than economic factors, and to overemphasize immediate problems. 1 Mary Richmond cites a criticism made of an agency concerning the lack of historical information about all the members of a Schoch deserter's family. She points out that an adequate knowledge of the background of buth parents is essentian in proper treatment and that it is extremely important to administer treatment with a clear conception of the main drift of the family as a whole. Continual improvement in the methods and ideals of social work is making available, better case histories and quantities of invaluable scientific information. Another objection to the use of such information is that the very fact of a family's need for aid from charity is usually indicative of its abnormality, especially in its desire for economic security.

The third method of privately interviewing interested socially minded men and women, is very possibly one great

Mowrer, op. cit. pp. 186-7.
Richmond, Social Diagnosis. pp 139-142.

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sourge to be successfully used in the future. G. V. Hamilton in a study of the marriage relations of two hundred man and women secured his information in the following manner. Questions typed on cards were answered privately by volunteers, willing to give for critical study, their personal experiences. The replies taken down verbatum by Dr. Hamilton, were later transferred to the dictaphone and numbered according to a key which he alone knew. These questions covered every phase of life experience from childhood, with its parental influences. through courtship and marriage experiences. 1 It is possible that through the study of apparently normal people, a group of positive attitudes may be discovered around which a process of organization may be started, in cases where disorganization is taking place. In fact it is advisable to check up the abnormal cases with those relatively normal in order to retain ones sense of values. Dr. Giddings warns against this danger in the following: "The circumstance that students of social work cases are largely occupied with sub-normal and abnormal phenomena creates an intellectual danger which calls for mention.....To correct these errors and to avoid bias social workers and students of social work cases need to keep in touch with researches that are being carried on in the study of normal social and

Ross, Mary. Marriages that Did and Didn't Survey Graphic, April, 1928.

Hamilton, "A Research in Marriage."

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societal evolution, and to familiarize themselves with attested results.....But sociology can give them, and should give them, poise and balance, a comprehensive view, a sense of relative values, an apprehension of proportions and of probabilities."

In securing the material for our case studies it is necessary to know the tensions or attitudes arising in family disorganization and how they interact in sequential relationships in bringing about events that complete the deunifying process. In this connection it will be well to remember the possibility of discovering attitudes or states of mind that make for accord rather than tension. In addition, we may find these attitudes clustered about certain interests and desires not unlike the socializing forces mentioned above.

To summarize briefly, this is the method employed.

First, study the family, as an organism including its individual parts, mainly, father and mother; second, as a part of the ecological environment, and finally, after facts have been analysed and interpreted, as a statistical study. The following is not a statistical study but a suggestion that may prove valuable in making a more complete analysis of the first two relationships and facilitate a more nearly accurate approach in the shird.

<sup>1</sup> Giddings, F. H. The Scientific Study of Human Society, pp. 97-99.

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### IV. A STUDY OF TENSIONS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

Nearly all social scientists agree that there are disharmonies and conflicts in the family relationship but so many include only a broad generalization of causes, especially ignorance of the meaning of marriage and lack of economic training. All of these are indeed true as far as they go but they are mere suggestions of the pension classification we desire for our purpose here.

A classification of family tensions may proceed out of a group of typical situations in which family discords arise. Professor Burgess of Chicago University in his course on The Family, has introduced the concept "family tension" which has been defined and described in preceding chapters. He gives a classification of seven tension types including economic, sex, repect, culture, temperament and pattern of life. Meroney gives four different types of factors, viz. economic, health, personal and social, and under each there are numerous tensions. Miss Richmond suggests that when serious estrangement occurs, the first thing to study is the differences, if any,-"in racial, national and

The Town Church and the Modern Family,
M.A. Thesis. quoted by Mowrer, op. cit. p. 196.

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community background, with the resulting differences of custom, convention, religion and education. Next to disparity of age, to marriage or remarriage for economic reasons, and the interference of relatives; differences of nationality, race, or religion are the most fruitful causes of trouble between man and wife." Mowrer gives only four general classifications as a result of an intensive study of one hundred cases of family disorganization. He admits that it is somewhat simpler than others and possibly too simple but is only tentative and will undoubtedly be shown defective when newermethods of case study will be discovered. His four fold classification follows: (1) incompatability in response, (2) economic individualization, (3) cultural differentiation, and (4) individuation of life patterns.2 He adds that each one of these does not necessarily represent a single tension but "the assumption is that there is in each case one type of situation which is predominate in the conflict between husband and wife."

The basis of both Burgess' and Mowrer's classification seem to be on the assumption that the interaction between husband and wife occurs within certain spheres of interest in which there may be either tension or accord. Hence

Mowrer, op. cit. p. 196 Ibid.

Richmond, Social Diagnosis. p. 140

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Nomice, op, cit, p. 196

for the economic type tension there is an economic type accord. For example: if the economic tension between John and Marie, mentioned in the second section, had been counteracted by some mutual economic interest of saving together or budgeting accounts and spending cooperatively, there could have resulted mutual accord and the following tensions temporarily if not permenantly relieved.

E. T. Krueger of Vanderbilt University in a recent study published in the April number of the Hamily Magazine, 1928, gives thirteen tensions as the result of his research. He maintains that the above are all to abstract and inclusive to permit the location and description of tensions in a greater variety of situations. His thirteen tensions are: economic, occupation, response (sex), control (positional relationship of members within the family to each other), status (positional relationship of the family in social participation), culture, philosophy of life, temperament, health, individual capacities and abilities, appetites and habits, personal behavior pattern, and age. To illustrate the action of these various tensions, he gives the case of the Gross family and an analysis of the tensions with a diagram. The following is a brief summary of tas case.

The Family Magazine. Russell Sage Foundation.
Apr. 1928. p. 54. "A Study of Marriage
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### THE CROSS FAMILY

Mr. and Mrs. Cross coming from a similar rural background move to the city in an attempt to avert financial disaster. Mr. Cross is willing to work but never understands the value of money. Even so, he refuses to allow Mrs. Cross to try to manage the finances.

She is forced to take in boarders to eke out the family income but gives that up because of Mr. Cross' suspicions about the boarders and her.

Mr. Cross unconcerned about telling the family troubles to all, greatly annoyseMrs. Cross. He likewise takes no interest in her desire to limit the size of the family or for her to have pretty clothes.

Mrs Cross finally leaves home because of traps he set to prove her unfaithful. She is now earning \$300.00 per month and the children seem happy and Mrs. Cross seems to have solve the financial problem, at least for herself.

#### Tensions:

economic, lack of money.
control, husband tries to dominate home.
individual capacities, husband weaker than wife
and both realize it, inferiority complex
developed by husband.
status, wife sensitive to place in community
and keeping up appearences, husband still
rural minded.

There appears to be no conflict of culture, philosophy of life, temperment, health, appetites and habits nor husband's occupation. There was a tension over occupation of wife.

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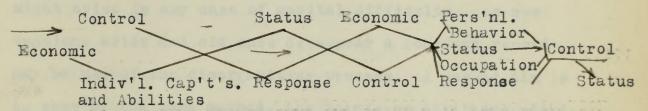
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A response tension arose because wife knew they could not afford more children. The tendency of the husband to excess was likewise a later cause for response tension although wife continued her response relations with her husband long after she lost respect for him. Personal behavior pattern likewise is apparent for the husband was an introvert, little interested in financial insight. The wife was an extravert, decisive and able to direct her activities. Thus we see almost a constellation of tensions, some stimulating others, all interacting and resulting in a final disintegration.

Diagram of tension forces in the process of disorganization:-



Mr. Krueger asserts that the problem of classification is complicated and made more difficult by the fact that tensions are interrelated and sequential in character.

As we have seen above, an economic tension arose involving almost every type of conflict that is possible to list.

"A Classification of tensions must therefore include the concrete factors which lead to a conflict of attitudes and leave to case analysis the statement of the sequential and integrative relationships between factors. Tensions therefore do not operate in isolation, but in an integrated set of tensions to which the term constellation has been applied."

The purpose of this study, while attempting to be constructive, must first recognize the value of being

<sup>1</sup> Krueger, "A Study of Marriage Incompatability"
The Family Magazine, op. cit. p. 54.

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able to analyse completely the family disorganization process. The above classifications suggest excellent ideas of analysis but the question arises as to their value in dealing with cases of family conflict if placed in the hands of social workers. Our aim is to give a method of visualizing graphically the primary and secondary tensions by suggesting all the possible attitudes that might arise in any case of marital difficulty. As newtensions arise and old ones disappear a constant record may be hadtof the disorganizing process. A second aim is to show by the same method, the points or attitudes where disorganization is not taking place. A visualization of the family as a whole, seeing both its desires and problems may suggest a plan of organization by strengthing interest in attitudes that apparently show no conflict situation. In addition to this, the use of such a plan would facilitate the gathering of more minute causas factors for statistical studies.

The classification that follows is based, first on the two fundamental desires of human like, or economic security and sexual response, as mentioned above; and second, on the individual and cultural differences of husband and wife. The first, economic security, includes all causes that would produce insecurity, irratability due to

The planetiness of the first collows is noticed, first on sconomic on the two tests and desired of names like, or sconomic second, and second response, as mentioned apove; and second, on the introduced and outland differences of machine and wife, the live, monomic second, incided the to come to

kind of employment or non-employment and tensions arising from the management of the income. The second includes all differences arising from matters of sex. child birth, parental responsibility and birth control. The third group is composed of individual characteristics such as mentality, temperment, habits and appetites, health and age, any one of which may cause considerable misunderstanding between two people. In the fourth group we find listed cultural differences such as race, nationality, religion, education and other factors that have been, and are still, fruitful sources of differing attitudes.

### ECONOMIC - SECURITY

- 1. Income
- 2. Employment
- 3. Financial management.

# SEXUAL RESPONSE

- 4. Sexual relations

- 5. Birth Control
  6. Children
  7. Parental Responsibility. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS
- 8. Individual Capacities and Abilities
- 9. Mentality
- 10. Temperament
- 11. Philosophy of Life
- 12. Desire to control, (Particularly status within family)
- 13. Appetites and habits
- 14. Health
- 15. Age

#### CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

- 16. Race
- 17. Nationality
- 18. Religion
- 19. Education
- 20. Recreation
- 21. Relatives
- 22. Desire for community recognition of family status.

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On the sample face sheet on page 45 where the above outline is used for the analysis of the Grimes case, there will be found several subdivisions under many of the tensions giving an opportunity for more exact study of causal factors. For use with other material that is found with most case studies, this sheet should be printed on a card, five inches by six inches and used in conjunction with the ordinary face sheet.

The column lines under "M" and "W" are for
the purpose of designating the source of unreasonableness
of the tension or, whether the man or the woman is
more to blame. If this is difficult to determine,
then both "M" and "W" will have checks on the same
tension. Different marks designate the relative
importance of the tension to the whole situation.

In concluding this chapter on Classification of Family Tensions we must admit the undesirableness of dogmatically defining and subjecting these attitudes to certain categorical limitations. The interplay and influence of tensions upon each other presents a more difficult problem that at first appears, but this is offered as a means to better interpretation of cases of family disorganization. It is hoped that with this interpretation there will also come a

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visualization of possible reconstruction programs
that will save much effort on the part of the social
worker not to mention the prolonged unhappiness of
the families involved. The gathering of statistical
material is entirely secondary but never-the-less important.
Just as new methods in medical science are constantly
bringing fresh information conderning the diseases of the
body, it is hoped that this will aid in the diagnosis
and treatment of diseases of the family.

visualization of positive recommission or included that the contract of the contra

## V. THE TENSION CLASSIFICATION USED IN CASE ANALYSIS.

The following is considered a "hopeless case" in so far as making any sort of permenant adjustment that will hold the family together so that it will of stand independent offitside help. The case has been condensed from the files of the Family Welfare Society of Boston and reveals a wide variety of discordant attitudes. Even though the main motives of the two people that compose the head of the family, are widely divergent, we do find attitudes of accord which if supplemented by some economic security, would very possibly make a permenantly integrated family. I feel this to be a safe statement in spite of the great difference in age. During the process of reading the case, it might be of interest to refer to the analysis on page 45.

#### THE GRIMES CASE.

Harriet Nelson Grimes is a very attractive young woman of twenty nine. She was born in Sweden and her father died when she was but five years old. She came to America with her mother, one brother and one sister in 1909; the family lived in Rhode Island for several years. The older brother and sister are both married and live rather well in rural communities in the West Central part of the United States. Mrs. Grimes is now living with her three children; Herbert, seven years old;

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# ALL DESCRIPTION

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Bobert, five; and Marie, two; in Charlestown. Mr. and Mrs. Grimes seem to be of average intelligence and both present a pleasing appearance. There is a great difference in their ages and cultural backgrounds, Mr. G being twenty-five years older than his wife and a native of Massachusetts while she is a native of Sweden. They were married in 1920, at which time Harriet was a waitress and Mr. Grimes was the cook at one of the summer hotels near Plymouth.

Mr. Grimes is quite tempermental. He was the only child and his mother died at his birth after which time his grandparents cared for him for several years. Mr Grimes Sr. remarried and John returned to his father's home but ran away at the age of nine because of the treatment received by his step-mother. He returned to his grandparents and while living with them received a common school education. Father and son were separated for several years but met one day quite by accident when John was fifteen years of age. For the following five or six years, Mr. Grimes Sr. took much interest in his son, teaching him the barger trade in his own shop. The younger man became dissatisfied however and decided to be a chef, the profession he has followed ever since. His first marriage ended tragically when his son, three years old, was accidently killed by a revolver. The child's mother died shortly after this terrible accident. Mount, fire, ordinar and to to to decay involvance into the form of the control o

terminated of the company of the countries.

Mrs. Harriet Grimes was very happy during the first few weeks of her married life in 1920. She thought her husband, because of his age and experience, would be able to provide for their living and that her days of hand to mouth existence were over forever. They made great plans for the future, counting on the income he usually made, (around two hundred dollars per month). including in their budget a small saving for a future home. After the summer tourist season was over they moved to Boston, rented a little apartment and began their housekeeping activities while Mr. Grimes tried to find w employment. Jobs were very scarce in the winter of 1920-21 and to make matters worse, Mr. Grimes felt it was below the dignity of a chef to accept any kind of menial labor. He had only temporary employment at various times throughout the winter and it was not long until their summer savings were completely used up. Herbert came in the spring of 1921 and Mrs. Grimes was very weak because of her undernourished condition. G. obtained a steady job early in the summer however and this helped materially while Harriet gained rapidly in strength. She was able to visit her sister who lived in Minnesota, that same summer, taking the baby with her. This relative believed Harriet's marriage was a very unwise adventure and advised her to get a divorce. Harriet was

hopeful and believed John capable of doing more that he had done so far because when he did work there seemed to be so much money coming in. "If he could only get a steady job."

The following winter was about as bleak as the first, and unpaid rent necessitated their moving to a room in the North End.

After the second baby arrived in 1923, Mrs Grimes called upon the Family Welfare Society for aid. Upon investigation, the room was found to be unsanitary and damp, not a good place to care for two babies that were none too well. The social worker found Mrs. Nelson, the mother of Mrs. Grimes at the rooming house but she seemed to be of little help. Mrs. Grimes said that she (Mrs. Nelson) was living with them and both Mr. and Mrs. G. were quite perturbed about it. It was found that Mrs. Nelson had some money and refused to pay her own expenses of food and rent. She was not only unable to speak a word of English but was also deaf. Soon after this original investigation the Family Welfare Society helped the distressed family to move to rooms renting for \$18.00 per month in Charlestown. Here there was much more room and sunlight for all.

Mr. Grimes continued to secure intermittant employment. However he was able to keep the jobs he secured no della come priori della mente come antici della come antici del

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away from home much longer than those he could find in Boston and while working away from home he was extremely careful about sending money to his family. As months went by his jobs became more scarce and he spent much more time loafing around the house. It became apparent that Mrs. Grimes was beginning to lose respect and confidence in her husband. While home, he would become extremely quarrelsome over trifles and Mrs. G. reported to the social worker that he was mean to the children whenever he was the least bit annoyed by them. "He swears at the children and is very dirty whenever he chews tobacco and smokes while in the house," she said.

Harriet was very fond of parties and socials and enjoyed being with her friends who attended the Sweedish Church. She also attended church and took the children along because she recognized the value of their knowing the Swedish language as well as English. Parties, dances and socials were attended whenever the opportunity presented itself because Mrs. Grimes loved recreation and social live and her monotonous home life intensified this desire.

Mr. Grimes on the other hand, often made unkind remarks about the friends of his wife referring to them as "Swedes" and attempting to build up his own pride in the fact that he was "an American". His idea concerningonis wife was for

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her to care for the children, the house and his wants, first. He could see no need for her going out to socials or for entertaining friends in her home, as was suggested by the social worker. Much bitter talk would follow the discovery by Mr. Grimes that his wife had been away from home for a few hours without his knowledge of it.

In December, 1925, Marie was born and the family finances were so depleted that the Welfare Society gave the two boys some Christmas things and enough food to last for a few days. Mrs. Nelson was then home caring for the children and seemed to be quite a different person than was first reported. Mr. Grimes sent a good letter thanking the Welfare Society for the Christmas Cheer, saying that he did not know what they would have done had it not been for the thoughtfulness of the Society. In January, both Mrs. Grimes and the baby went to the Boston Lying In Hospital for a month, to gain health and strength.

During the following summer and fall, Harriet secured part time employment out of the home in order to aid with the family expenses. She did this while Mr. Grimes was out of town so that he would not know about it. She also attended the parties at the Swedish Lutheran Church enjoying the companionship of her friends and the excitement of these new experiences. This recreation

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appeared to be beneficial and the chance for self expression affected the rest of her attitudes.

In the spring of 1927, Mr, Grimes worked at a hotel in Florids. He wrote glowing accounts of his experiences of swimming and fishing in the ocean, and promised to bring the children an alligator when he came home. The children seemed to be happier to hear from their father than to see him and they were always greatly excited whenever a letter arrived telling of his adventures. When he returned in June, he found two or three short lived jobs but none to his liking, he claimed. Most of his time was spent in making home life disagreeable until he accepted a job as chef at a school in New York State. He stayed here only two weeks and upon investigation it was found that he was too unclean with his tobacco habits and disinterested in his work after the first week on the job.

In was not until October, 1927 that the committee on Marital Relations of the Family Welfare Society decided that Mr. Grimes must either get a job and support has family or work on the wood pile or go to jail. He could find no other work so he worked on the wood pile during the winter, keeping him away from home most of the time allowing Mrs, Grimes more freedom and an opportunity work outside of her home. By this arrangement, Mrs.

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Grimes is managing financially but cannot save anything for any emergency. She realizes that if her husband could fund steady employment, they would have enough to live on. She is willing to remain with him if he will but support her, because she is very anxious to give the children a good education. However if she is able to become completely independent of her husband, she declares that she will divorce him somehow. She admits a lack of interest in him on account of his old fashioned ideas.

About the first thing we see to cause trouble in this case is the extreme difference in ages. This is not an active factor apparently, until there is a lack of economic security. These two are perhaps the primary tensions, having much bearing upon all the other tensions in the case. This seasonal and intermittent employment of the man contribute greatly to the economic tension while, strange as it may seem, the employment away from home, seems to be the only steadying influence aside from the harmony in response attitudes. There is apparently no tension over the matter of financial management.

There are cultural tensions as dshown by the problems arising from the differences in recreational desires.

The difference in nationality and religion may have much

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influence at this point and the differences of individual characteristics and abilities, temperment. and age, all react upon each other to make the situation more complicated. The subjective temperment of Mr. Grimes which was largely false pride and continuous for a. superiority complex, caused him to refuse menial employment increasing the economic tension in in the family and lowering its status. This could be influenced by his philosophy of life and the attitude of "why waste time on a little job paying \$3,00 per day when I can get \$8.00 as a chef?" His appetites and habits seem to be a factor in his inability to hold a job. There is also a direct tension between the two people at this point. The difference on age may be considered again as a factor causing his desire to control the activities of Mrs. Grimes. Being old enough to be her father, he has a sort of paternalistic attitude.

There seems to be little or no tension over the sex attitude in this case. The fact that there is harmony at this point helps us to see why the marriage did not become disintegrated sooner. It appears that if Mr. Grimes could be inspired to get and keep a steady job, even with a moderate income, that many tensions would disappear and there would result a mutual desire to educate the children and establish a permenant home. The graphic analysis follows below.

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46 John grimes Surname Case No. 4356 Maiden Name Individual sources, different periods Causes MWMWMWMWWWW ECONOMIC Income Inadequate Control of 2. Employment Seasonal Intermittant Lack of Migratory Financial Management SEXUAL RESPONSE 4. Sexual Relations Frigid Extremely emotional 5. Birth Control 6. Children 2. Parental Responsibility INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS 8. Individual Capacities and Abilities Mentality Temperament Subjective, Objective Il. Healthi 12. Philosophy of Life 13. Control 14. Appetites and Habits >>>>>> 15. Age CULTURAL DIFFERENCES White

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

16. Race

White

Black

Yellow

Red

17. Nationality

American

Other 5were

18. Religion

Jewish
Catholic

Protestant

19. Education

20. Recreation

21. Relatives

22. Status

Key: > - Major Tension Areas. - Contributory factors.

V-Contributory attitutes.

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der: N - tolor Tennion areas. V-Contributory attitutes.

The reason for the differentiation between "factors" and "attitudes" is that factors are conditions that are relatively stable and are external. Attitudes are states of minds which are dependent upon the individual himself for change. It is difficult to tell which is the more important because attitudes may influence conditions and factors may change completely ones state of mind. Their relative importance may be compared to the two edges of a pair of shears, in the process of cutting a sheet of paper. It is difficult to know which does the more work.

By using the method of graphic analysis shown on page
46 of the paper, there is presented after a series of analyses,
a picture of the trends of tensions. At three different
periods in the case history of the Grimes family, have the
analyses been and de. The first was made when the family first
came to the notive of the Welfare Society. The second was
made when the last child was born. The third came at the
close of the case.

The analysis in the first column reveals the major tension brought about by inadequate income due to lack of employment. We find as contributory attitudes, the subjective temperament, the appetites and habits of Mr. Grimes which bring about tensions. Mrs. Grimes' poor health and the influence of Mrs. Neslon, a relative of Mrs. Grimes, likewise cause tensions. The diversified ages of the husband and wife constitute a constant factor which affects both the cultural

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The analysis are represented the second of the second and the seco

and individual differences throughout the case.

In the second analysis, we again find economic tensions due to inadequate income but intermittant rather than no employment is the cause. The extra responsibility of supporting the last child emphasizes the economic strain. Temperament, appetites and habits still persist and we see an attempt made by the husband to construct a philosophy of life which will excuse his unemployment without injuring his own self respect. The health of the wife still is impaired. Nationality tensions and recreation tensions are arising.

The third and final summary of the case portrays the persistence of the economic tension accentuated in a measure by the employment of the wife. The tensions due to poor health and misunderstanding the children seem to have disappeared but a decided control tension is indicated when we note the attitude of Mr. Grimes concerning the recreational and social activities of his wife and children. Mr. Grimes has a desire for status. A slight religious tension is appearing.

This type of chart cannot show the immediate connections between one tension and another but we

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are able to see the general area in which disorganization process is taking place and to view the

places where there is little or no tension.

On a printed face sheet there could be arranged

any number of columns for extra or more numerous

analyses. It would be wise, also, to leave a space

on the sheet between individual areas for writing

in other factors that are rare, unforseen or unusual.

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## VI. CONCLUSION.

This is a presentation of a method for quickly and graphically studying cases of family disorganization. We are making no plea for the preservation of the institution of marriage, but our proposed method of viewing cases should throw light on primary causes as well as indicating possible points wherein amelioration is conceivable. We have not given much attention to the parent-child relationship, important as it is, for it requires a thorough study at some future time. Such a study is without the confines of this paper.

Marriage to the so called modern social order is considered more permanent than in the early primitive society when the arrangement was one of utility, to be terminated at will.

Our so cial mores of the day have long considered marriage as more or less permanent, regardless of the conflicting motives of the participents.

So long as the conditions remain as they now are, social workers and others are going to be confronted with the problem of marital difficulty. A method of visualizing the process of disorganization in particular cases will be of assistance.

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The charts herein given and the methods of diagnosis suggested are built around the forces of hunger, love, vanity and fear. These primary forces are certainly in the realm where are found the greatest amount of possibility for both conflict or harmony. Both organization and disorganization are possible, The study of the individual difference in these realms as indicated in our study of small groups will prove beneficial in increasing knowledge about dissatisfactions in marriage.

We offer a method of diagnosis. Suggestions for treatment must arise as ones views the areas of calm and of tension. As we increase our knowledge on a small scale, perhaps never being able to formulate generalities, still we may give a few fundmentals that can be guiding our thoughts when dealing with men and women who are facing problems of family disorganization.

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